

No. 16 April 21, 1980

BEIJING REVIEW

北京周報

A CHINESE WEEKLY
OF
NEWS AND VIEWS

Fulfilment of
1979 National
Economic Plan

Education: Let
No One Fall
Behind

Afghanistan:
Political Solution
Premature Now



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BEIJING REVIEW

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Published in English, French, Spanish, Japanese, German and Arabic editions

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Published every Monday by
BEIJING REVIEW, Beijing (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Printed in the People's Republic of China

FOREIGN RELATIONS

President Kaunda's Visit To China

Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, is an old friend of the Chinese people. He had visited China in 1967 and 1974, and made important contributions to the development of the friendship between the Chinese and Zambian peoples. During his current visit (April 9-15), he held talks with Premier Hua Guofeng. Both sides reviewed with satisfaction the development of bilateral relations and expressed the determination to expand their co-operation in all fields. On April 11, China and Zambia signed a protocol on economic and technical co-operation and a cultural agreement.

The leaders of the two countries had extremely cordial and sincere discussions on major international issues of common concern and reached identity of views.

At the banquet he gave in honour of President Kaunda, Premier Hua Guofeng said: The Zambian guests have come from the southern African frontline where gratifying changes have taken place and a new independent state—the Republic of Zimbabwe—is coming into being. The signal victory of the Zimbabwian people will heighten the morale of the people of Namibia and Azania.

The Chinese Premier pointed out: "It is imperative to make continued unremitting efforts before complete independence

and liberation of the African continent can be won. We will continue our good co-operation with Zambia and the friendly co-operation with other African countries and do whatever we can to help achieve this goal."

President Kaunda spoke highly of the late Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou. He said that the name of Mao Zedong is well known among the fighting people. As the founders of New China, Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou have left an indelible impression in world history. These two great leaders embodied the spirit of China's internationalism.

President Kaunda said: "Since our independence, especially since 1967, China has always supported the struggles of the oppressed people of southern Africa. China is one of the leading supporters of the patriotic forces fighting colonialism, fascism and racism in southern Africa. China's support for the people of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe played a decisive role in their struggle for liberation. The frontline countries provided the strategical bases and aid of logistics for the patriotic forces, and China's valuable support to them is also an indispensable and decisive factor in helping the oppressed people to win their historical victory."

"In the last few years," President Kaunda continued, "when the war of liberation in Zimbabwe reached a critical and decisive phase, China stood very firmly with the patriotic forces and frontline countries in repelling the combined forces of rebel Rhodesia and South Africa in their vicious attacks against Mozambique and Zambia. When we needed assistance

most in the darkest hour before the dawn of Zimbabwean independence, China threw in her lot with us."

The President said that he wished to point out clearly that, thanks to China's decisive support, Zambia could exist and gain security.

Referring to the Zambian President's repeated mention of China's support and assistance to Zambia and the people in southern Africa, Premier Hua said at another banquet: "We have always held that assistance

Uphold the Three Worlds Theory

"We uphold the three worlds theory advanced by Chairman Mao. China will always remain a member of the third world; it will never pursue hegemonism, and it will always uphold proletarian internationalism and firmly oppose hegemonism."

This was said by Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping when he met President Kaunda on April 12.

Vice-Premier Deng described to the Zambian President China's experience and lessons in socialist construction. He spoke highly of Chairman Mao's contributions in leading the Chinese people in building up the country. He said that the modernization programme which the Chinese people are now carrying out was advanced by Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou Enlai.

President Kaunda said: "We attach much importance to exchanging views with Chinese leaders, which enables us to understand each other's line of thought."

He noted that he was very glad to know about the present situation in China. He added: "I have on several occasions publicly expressed my admiration for China under the leadership of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou as well as under the present leadership."

is mutual... The struggles and victories of the southern African peoples and the support given by the Republic of Zambia to China in international affairs constitute a great help and encouragement to us. The assistance, support and encouragement given to the Chinese people by a prosperous Africa and a prosperous third world will be of inestimable significance."

Vice-Premier Yu Qiuli in Tokyo

The Japanese Government and people are actively making preparations to warmly welcome Premier Hua Guofeng's visit to Japan in May. This was what Japanese Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira told Vice-Premier Yu Qiuli in Tokyo.

The Chinese Vice-Premier was paying a two-week goodwill visit to Japan at the invitation of the Japanese Government and the Japan-China Association on Economy and Trade. During the visit, he exchanged views with Prime Minister Ohira and other cabinet ministers on the friendly relations and economic co-operation between the two countries. He also met Japanese friends from business circles and made a first-hand study of Japan's economic development.

Importance of Sino-Japanese Co-operation. At a press conference he gave in Tokyo on April 10, Vice-Premier Yu Qiuli said, "Close co-operation between China and Japan is of great significance not only to the interests of the two countries but also to the needs of the whole world."

He added: "Tension, turbulence and intranquillity mark the present-day international situation. It is the joint task

and the common interests of the people of the world to oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace. Promotion of the ties of friendship and co-operation between China and Japan will play a positive role in preserving peace and stability in Asia and the world as a whole."

China's Economy in the 80s. In a speech he gave in Tokyo on April 7, Vice-Premier Yu said that China will not deviate from the central task of modernization in the 80s and even for a longer period as long as there is no large-scale war. He stressed: "We shall not flinch from combining self-reliance with learning from other countries; we shall actively promote economic and technological interflow with other countries, introduce advanced technology and absorb experience in scientific management to expedite our modernization." He said that China is drawing up a ten-year (1981-90) plan to ensure that economic work in the entire decade will be more effective. The main contents of this plan are to give priority to agriculture, energy, communications and transport as well as cultural, educational and scientific undertakings.

Policy on Joint Ventures. At the press conference in Tokyo on April 10, Vice-Premier Yu said that China will abide by the contracts concluded with foreign investors. He made clear the following five points:

First, the Chinese Government will not confiscate or requisition the assets belonging to foreign investors in accordance with the joint ventures law. If China should find it necessary to requisition them under very particular circumstances, it will give the foreign investors reasonable compensations.

Second, a system of responsibility by the general manager

under the board of directors will be established in the joint ventures. The general manager can either be a Chinese or a foreigner.

Third, the joint ventures have the right to hire or fire their workers according to the needs of management. Punishment including dismissal may be meted out to those who seriously violate the labour disciplines.

Fourth, raw and other materials, fuel and parts the ventures need should be purchased as much as possible in China. But the ventures are entitled to use their own foreign exchange to buy what they need directly from abroad.

Fifth, in fixing the tax rate for the joint ventures, the justified interests of foreign investors will be taken into account. The legal interests of foreign investors will be guaranteed.

China and the International Monetary Fund. When Yu Qiuli was asked if China was ready to join the International Monetary Fund, he said: "China is one of the I.M.F. initiators. It is now a question of restoring to China its membership. The time has come and we are ready to take this step. After the restoration of China's membership, it will take an active part in all the activities of this organization."

News in Brief

• Hua Guofeng, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, met in Beijing on April 7 with a delegation of the African Party for Independence in Guinea and Cape Verde headed by Carlos Correia, Member of the Party's Executive Committee of Struggle. He praised

this Party for its achievements in leading the people of Guinea and Cape Verde in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination, and in developing their national economy. He expressed the belief that the delegation's visit to China would further strengthen the friendly relations between the two Parties and countries.

- When Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met with a cultural delegation from Malaysia on April 8, he noted that China and Malaysia were friendly neighbouring countries and that friendly exchanges between them were increasing. He also said that the friendly relations between China and Malaysia and the other ASEAN countries would continue to develop.

- The China National Machinery and Equipment Import and Export Corporation and the National Electrification Administration of the Philippines recently signed three agreements in Manila. In accordance with these agreements, China will provide complete sets of equipment for small hydroelectric power stations and related technology and the two countries will co-operate in producing such equipment.

- The Guangzhou Centre for Technical Exchanges With Foreign Countries and two Japanese industrial companies recently sponsored a meeting for exchanging experience on high polymer adhesive techniques in Guangzhou. Since the centre was established in November 1978, it has received 700 experts and technicians from the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Japan, the United States and many other countries.

- China will import from Romania and Japan three cement plants with a total annual production capacity of four million tons. The one from Romania will be built in Xuzhou in northern Jiangsu Province and the other two from Japan will be built in the city of Ningguo in southeastern Anhui Province and in Tangshan, east of Beijing. Computers will be used in some production procedures in these plants which have anti-pollution and anti-earthquake devices.

POLITICAL

Self-Correction by the Party

"Even the wise who are circumspect may make a mistake" is the Chinese way of saying "to err is human." A man who corrects his own mistakes is a courageous and not a weak and faint-hearted person.

This is also true with a proletarian party. In order to continually make progress and keep its youthful vitality, it must persist in making self-criticisms and correct its mistakes so as to preserve its purity, strength and vigour.

Over the past three years, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in December 1978, the Party has restored its fine tradition of seeking truth from facts, reappraised many major historical issues and redressed numerous cases of people unjustly, falsely or wrongly charged and sentenced, including rehabilitating Comrade Liu Shaoqi who was the victim of

the biggest frame-up in the Party's history.

The nation's newspapers and periodicals have recently published many articles on the significance of the Party's major decision to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi. On April 1 *Guangming Ribao* published an article by commentator saying that this is a convincing proof that the Party is a Marxist revolutionary Party imbued with the spirit of making earnest and serious self-criticisms.

The article recalled that, during the period of the democratic revolution, the Party had committed mistakes in political line on several occasions. But no matter how serious they were, steps were taken to correct these mistakes. This resulted in the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and the founding of New China. In giving leadership to the socialist revolution and construction, the Party also made some mistakes due to various subjective and objective reasons. Particularly during the Cultural Revolution, it committed distressing mistakes which made it possible for Lin Biao and the gang of four to wreak havoc for ten years. As in the period of the democratic revolution, the Party has by its own efforts corrected these mistakes through self-criticism.

Facts have proved that by correcting its mistakes in an open and frank way, the Party has restored its prestige among the people and become more capable of leading them forward. An end has been put to the ten years of turmoil caused by Lin Biao and the gang of four and a situation has emerged throughout

the country in which things are moving ahead in a guided and orderly way and the people, with a clear goal in mind, are advancing in the right direction, confident of victory.

The commentator said that Comrade Mao Zedong always attached great importance to self-criticism by the Party, pointing out that this was a difference between our Party and other political parties. At the enlarged working conference convened by the Party Central Committee in 1962, he said that on the last day of the working conference convened in June 1961 by the Central Committee, he had discussed his own shortcomings and mistakes and asked the participants to convey what he had said to the provinces and localities. He found out later that many localities were not informed. Referring to this, he said: "It's as if my mistakes could or should be kept hidden. Comrades, they mustn't be kept hidden! Of all the mistakes made by the Central Committee I am responsible for those directly related to me and I have a share of the responsibility for those not directly related to me, because I am its Chairman."

This showed the candidness and lofty spirit of a proletarian revolutionary, and was a tremendous inspiration to the whole Party. In openly criticizing and correcting its own mistakes today, the Party is bringing forth the radiance of Mao Zedong Thought in all its splendour.

Like other things on earth, a proletarian party advances amidst contradictions. In exposing and resolving contradictions, self-criticism is indispensable and it is the motive force propelling the Party forward. Failing to make self-criticism or listen to the criticisms and de-

mands of the masses, the Party will become ossified and its life will come to an end.

The commentator concluded by saying that the series of policy decisions and measures taken by the Third and Fifth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Central Committee indicate that the Party has become more mature politically and that this will help quicken the pace of the four modernizations.

Qu Qiubai's Contributions Affirmed

Recently, *Renmin Ribao* carried a signed article affirming the great contributions to the Chinese revolution made by Qu Qiubai (1899-1935), who was branded as a "renegade" by Lin Biao and the gang of four.

One of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party in its early period, Qu Qiubai was an outstanding political activist, theoretician and man of letters.

The article noted that Qu Qiubai committed mistakes as a result of his "Left" putschist tendency between the winter of 1927 and the spring of 1928, and caused setbacks to the revolution. Before he was executed by the Kuomintang reactionaries in 1935, he wrote in prison *Random Remarks* for which he was branded as a "renegade." These remarks revealed his pessimistic sentiments; nevertheless, he set death at defiance and sang the *Internationale* and shouted "Long Live Communism" before he was killed.

The article set forth his contributions to the Chinese revolution from the following four major aspects:

— He was an outstanding representative who, following the

example of Li Dazhao, propagated the significance of the October Revolution and Marxism-Leninism in China. Many of his writings served as invaluable textbooks helping progressive intellectuals to understand the Chinese revolution during the 20s and 30s.

— He supported the revolutionary united front. After being elected a member of the Central Committee at the Third National Party Congress in 1923, he was entrusted with the task of drafting the Party's programme in which the revolutionary united front with the Kuomintang was established. Together with other comrades, he ensured the implementation of this correct decision.

— During the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), he was one of those leaders who upheld the correct Party line, and was resolute in the struggle against Chen Duxiu's Right opportunist line. In 1927 when the Kuomintang betrayed the revolution, he took over from Chen Duxiu the leadership of the Party Central Committee and presided over the August 7 emergency meeting of the Central Committee, which put an end to the domination of Chen Duxiu's capitulationist line in the Party.

— During the years 1931-33, after he was persecuted by Wang Ming and expelled from the Party's Political Bureau, he co-operated with Lu Xun in promoting the revolutionary cultural movement in Shanghai. He wrote and translated many books totalling more than one million words, and thus made a great contribution to China's proletarian literature and art. His theoretical articles represented the correct orientation of the literary and art revolution in the 1930s.

ECONOMIC

Bright Prospects for State Farms

In addition to 50,000 collectively owned people's communes, there are in China's vast countryside 2,048 state farms owned by the whole people and staffed by 4.8 million workers. These farms were set up after liberation in 1949 in the border areas and hilly regions, or at the seaside and on marshland and wasteland. With 4.33 million hectares of cultivated land, they are led by the land reclamation bureaus at the provincial and autonomous regional levels under the Ministry of Land Reclamation.

These farms were run at a loss from 1966 to 1978. However, things began to look up in 1979 when they got a profit of 300 million yuan. The output of such major products as grain, cotton, oil and rubber registered record highs. So were the

amount of farm products turned over to the state and the total output value of both industrial and agricultural production (state farms also run industries).

At a recent national conference held in Beijing and attended by directors of the land reclamation bureaus, experiences in running state farms in the past 30 years were summed up.

The consensus was: It is essential to run the farms in accordance with economic laws, and manage them in the same way as enterprises.

In the initial stage, a "supply system" was adopted in managing the farms. It was a system practised in the liberated areas during the war years and the state was responsible for everything, from farm production to the livelihood of the workers.

In 1955, economic accounting and a system of business management similar to that in state factories were introduced on the farms. After that,

production developed very fast. The number of workers increased from 3,000 in 1949 to 2.38 million in 1965, and the arable land from 30,000 to 3.15 million hectares. And there were profits, too.

But in the ten years of turmoil starting in 1966, the management system which had proved effective was seriously disrupted and production fell drastically. The total loss from 1966 to 1976 was 3,500 million yuan.

Measures have been taken since 1976 to strengthen the leadership at various levels and improve the management over the state farms, extend the right of self-management and improve business accounting, develop a diversified economy and strictly implement the principle of "to each according to his work," with bonuses for the workers in addition to their basic wages.

These measures have enhanced the initiative of the workers and staff, increased production and lowered the cost of production.

Modernization March

- Reconstruction of Tangshan, which was badly hit by a strong earthquake in July 1976, is now in full swing.

The city's rebuilding programme covers a total of 14.13 million square metres of industrial and public buildings and residential quarters. After one year's preparations, work went full steam ahead in the second half of last year.

Of the 5.09 million square metres already completed, housing accounts for 2.16 million square metres, and 30,000 fam-



A state farm in Anhui Province has increased its profits for several years running. Picture shows the farm workers receiving bonuses for overfulfilment of their production plan.

ilies have moved into their new quarters. Steel used per square metre of such housing is on the average 15 to 25 kilogrammes, thereby making the buildings able to withstand an earthquake of 6.3 magnitude.

Some 100,000 builders from the army and various parts of China are helping with the reconstruction work. Help and guidance have also been offered by 2,300 specialists and engineers.

The entire job is scheduled to be completed by the end of 1982. The new Tangshan will look entirely different from what it was before the quake. It will consist of three districts, each 25 kilometres apart and all are linked by three railways and several highways.

One district is the political and cultural centre, with most of the government offices and schools located there. Another is the mining centre which includes the Kailuan coalfield. The third is a new industrial centre to the north of the old city proper; here most of the light, textile, machine-building and electronic plants will be located. Shops, schools and cultural and medical establishments will be reasonably distributed

all over the city. Trees will be planted and there will be five or six square metres of greenery to each resident.

SOCIAL

Commendation and Punishment

One day in March, two hooligans were caught red-handed by a policeman while they were picking the pocket of a passenger on a bus in the city of Harbin in northeast China.

The policeman was Hou Peisheng, a Party member. Before one of the ruffians knew it, Hou had him handcuffed. But when he turned to the other one, Hou met with resistance. Trying to get help, Hou said to Jiang Shiyou, the passenger who was standing nearby: "Give me a hand, your pocket was picked." But Jiang who was also a Party member and a robust man, was so chicken-hearted as to keep himself aloof at this juncture.

Seeing this, the ruffian pulled out a dagger and assaulted and injured Hou. Together with the other passengers, Hou Peisheng fought the scoundrel.

Later, with presence of mind, he jumped off the bus and reported the case to a public security department nearby. The two criminals were arrested and brought to trial. One was given a death sentence and the other a death sentence with a two-year reprieve.

When the case was reported in the newspapers, there were strong repercussions in the city as well as in other parts of the country. Many people wrote letters or sent telegrams to express their views. All praised Hou Peisheng for his dauntlessness in discharging his duty, while Jiang Shiyou was censured for his cowardice in face of danger.

The city Party committee and the people's government of Harbin recently held a meeting to commend and reward Hou Peisheng. They called the people to learn from him. At the same time, the commission for inspecting discipline under the city Party committee and the Party organization to which Jiang Shiyou belonged adopted a decision to expel him from the Party, for his conduct was unworthy of a Communist Party member.

The emergence of unhealthy and unsavoury trends in society is one of the evil consequences left over from the ten-year (1966-76) turmoil. To revive good social morality and conduct will take some time and much effort. Today, the abnormal situation that the good people are afraid of the wicked still exists in some places. Local governments at all levels are making great efforts to enforce law and order. The Party has called on all the people to carry forward the Party's fine traditions so as to foster and promote healthy trends.



Part of the new Tangshan under construction.

Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan: Four Months in Retrospect

WERE there to stay," was Moscow's reply to the international demand for a Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union "invited" its own troops into Afghanistan and now it is inviting itself to stay there. This was announced on April 5 by *Pravda*, reporting that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. had ratified a treaty on the "temporary stay" of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. This shows how much Moscow cares about world opinion and international justice.

Synonymous With Permanent Occupation. How temporary is "temporary" in modern tsarist terminology? It means an indefinite duration, as long as it wishes, and this definition has been proved in history.

Two months after its invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Moscow signed a treaty with the Prague authorities on the "temporary stay" of Soviet troops there. Twelve years later, Soviet troops are still staying there, without showing the least inclination to withdraw. One notes that the treaty signed with the Kabul authorities varies very little in wording and content from the one Moscow had concluded with the Prague regime. Obviously, the Soviet Union means to stay there permanently, not temporarily. This should dispel any misunderstanding some people may have about the real purpose of the Soviet Union's stay in Afghanistan.

"Temporary stay" is meant to mislead, like "a conditional troop withdrawal." Moscow has been

saying for a long time that it would pull its troops out of Afghanistan if other countries "jointly guarantee" the "complete termination" of "outside interference" in Afghanistan. This, as we all know, has a twofold aim. Moscow wants to mislead world opinion by creating the impression that it is ready for a "political settlement" of the Afghan issue and, at the same time, to occupy Afghanistan permanently under the pretext that there was "outside interference," but not from Moscow. However, even as it loudly proclaims its desire for a conditional withdrawal, Moscow is "unconditionally" sending more troops into Afghanistan for a large-scale spring offensive against the Afghan patriotic forces. Soviet ratification of a treaty perpetuating its occupation of Afghanistan shows the Soviet Union's determination to hang on to Afghanistan as its exclusive domain.

Moscow Beset With Difficulties. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is a major move by Moscow to reach warm waters and bring its armed forces to bear on the important oil-producing Gulf area. This gravely worsens the situation in South Asia and also threatens the security of Europe, the Far East and the world as a whole.

Moscow's Afghan adventure, however, has also put itself on the spot.

- The third world has come to see Moscow's true hegemonist nature. Many countries are worried that Moscow will want to "stay temporarily" elsewhere.

- Soviet occupation of non-aligned Afghanistan has hurt the non-alignment movement. Cuba and Viet Nam, Soviet proxies



Afghan guerrillas with a captured Soviet vehicle and an Afghan government army officer.



Tell me what exactly does "temporary stay" mean?

Cartoon by Mei Luo

inside the movement, find themselves in a very awkward position.

• The United States has been compelled to readjust its policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

On a Political Solution

RATIFICATION of a treaty on the "temporary stay" of Soviet troops in Afghanistan kills the hope that a Soviet military withdrawal will be achieved through a political settlement.

But don't for a moment think that Moscow is not interested in any political settlement. Moscow badly wants one, if it means an international recognition of the Karmal regime and of Afghanistan as a Soviet appendage and of prolonged military occupation of that country by the Soviet Union.

The Kremlin and its surrogates are, at the moment, pressing Pakistan and certain other countries to enter into contact and establish official relations with that regime in spite of the resolution of the Islamic foreign ministers' conference. They are also trying to convene a regional conference with the regime represented.

Once the Karmal regime is recognized as a "legitimate government," the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan would become legitimate too, because it is there at "the request of" that regime under the provision of a treaty. This would complete the whole process of an international recognition of the Soviet armed invasion and occupation of Afghanistan.

Of course, this would be contrary to what many well-intentioned people have in mind when they seek a political solution. It is, therefore, very difficult to reach an agreement. Even so, Moscow will still capitalize on the process of seeking a political settlement to soften the position of those countries standing opposed to the Soviet invasion, estrange the United States from its West European allies, gain time to stamp out the armed resistance of the Afghan people and, last but not the least, improve its international image.

To press for a political settlement at present when the necessary conditions do not exist would end in compromises and concessions, recognizing the fait accompli of the Soviet invasion. Or even worse, it would play into the hands of the Kremlin, helping it to gain time to break up the opposition forces and pave the way for its next thrust. The result: Greater peril for the region and the world in general.

Countries which want a just solution to the problem need to strengthen their unity and make it more and more difficult for Moscow to carry on in Afghanistan. When the Soviet invaders have learnt some very bitter and costly lessons, then and only then will there be the conditions for a real and effective political settlement.

— Xinhua Commentator

Although some people have been frightened into wanting to make compromises with the Soviet Union, which it may exploit, a growing number of people in the United States and the West want firm measures taken to deal with Moscow's aggression and expansion.

• To have 80,000 troops tied down in Afghanistan cannot but affect the Soviet Union domestically and in its foreign relations. Impairment of its economic relations with the West will to some degree hold up its economic development.

• Members of the Soviet bloc are worrying that the Soviet Union may now be more inclined to use military force to deal with them. New splits have emerged in the ranks of the Euro-Communists.

• The Afghan event has promoted the tendency towards unity among various forces in the world. The contradictions between the West and the third world have eased up to some extent; the Arab countries and the West European countries are drawing closer; the Gulf and the Islamic countries are making efforts to reach a common understanding regarding the Soviet Union and co-ordinate their counter-measures.

What has happened in the world since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has not all been favourable to the Soviet Union, something which Moscow had not anticipated. But Moscow will not willingly pull its troops out of Afghanistan. It will go ahead with its original plans and proof of this is the signing of the recent "Soviet-Afghan treaty." A Soviet pull-out would mean admitting its invasion, and also the collapse of the Kabul puppet regime shored up by Soviet arms. This would stop Moscow from using Afghanistan

as a springboard to thrust further south and would hurt its overall strategy. Nothing could be more erroneous than to underestimate what lies behind the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and its plans to occupy that country militarily for an indefinite period.

The situation today is that Soviet troops want to stay on

in Afghanistan, but the Afghan people are fighting to drive them out. Thus countries upholding international justice need to give political, moral and material support to the Afghan people and so frustrate the schemes of the Soviet invaders.

—*"Beijing Review" news analyst Yu Pang*

U.S.-Iranian Relations

A Peaceful Settlement Is Best

ON April 7, U.S. President Jimmy Carter announced that the United States was breaking diplomatic relations with Iran and applying official economic sanctions against Iran. He also said that if these measures failed to secure the release of the American hostages, "other actions may be necessary." The next day, Teheran Radio broadcast a communique of the Iranian Revolutionary Council which said, "The Iranian nation should know that the present conditions are extraordinary and should be prepared for sacrifice and action." Iranian President Abolhassan Banisadr also expressed "determination to resist." This worsening of U.S.-Iranian relations has caused deep concern among various countries in the world.

Since last November 4, when Moslem students occupied the U.S. Embassy in Iran and took the American diplomats as hostages, the United States and Iran had all along tried to find a way to settle the dispute in spite of all the twists and turns. Meanwhile, the United Nations as well as a number of countries and organizations had done a lot of work to bring about an under-

standing between the United States and Iran. Now the situation has changed. When Iranian leaders refused to take over the hostages from the students, the United States decided to break off diplomatic relations. This American action has caused strong reaction in Iran. If this state of affairs intensifies, U.S.-Iranian relations will worsen. This, obviously, would not be in the interests of either the United States or Iran.

It is necessary to be vigilant as the Soviet Union is quite pleased by the unfortunate situation and is setting its propaganda machinery into motion in an all-out effort to widen the U.S.-Iranian split for its own purposes. People are well aware

that since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the situation in West Asia and the Gulf region has been thrown into greater turmoil. Iranian leaders have more than once stressed that Iran is being menaced from the north. In view of this harsh reality, all countries concerned should take the region's stability and security into full consideration and correctly solve their mutual contradictions and disputes so as not to provide opportunities for the Soviet hegemonists to exploit.

It is noteworthy that Iranian Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh on April 9 called on the United States to resume negotiations for a proper settlement to the hostages question. He told American journalists that "a settlement cannot be found except by negotiation." President Carter in his speech on April 10 also talked about being "careful and considered" when he discussed the hostages question. We hope that the United States and Iran, setting store by the interests of peace and security in the Gulf region, will act with restraint to prevent the situation from worsening and settle their differences satisfactorily through peaceful consultations.

—*"Renmin Ribao" Commentary (April 13)*

Saudi Arabia

New Trends

THE Gulf area with Saudi Arabia at the centre has become a sensitive area watched anxiously by people everywhere. Washington and Moscow are actively manoeuvring politically and militarily in the Middle East for the tussle over

Gulf oil in the 1980s. Along with this, conspicuous trends have emerged in Saudi Arabia's domestic and foreign policies.

Diplomatically, the country has adopted a flexible policy of uniting with the Islamic coun-

tries in countering hegemonism. Since January it has been engaged in active diplomatic activities, improving relations with Turkey, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Yemen Arab Republic. It is reported that Saudi Arabia has promised Turkey a loan of 500 million U.S. dollars and the supply of 6 million tons of oil at a preferential rate. Saudi Arabia had suspended military and economic aid to the Yemen Arab Republic in December, which led to strained relations for a time between the two countries. But in early March it resumed the aid and helped the republic cover its budgetary deficit of 300 million U.S. dollars. Saudi Arabia also entered into an agreement with the United States to pay for the shipments of U.S. military hardware to North Yemen. At the same time, the Saudis are moving positively to ease its strained relations with South Yemen. This led to Foreign Minister of South Yemen Salem Saleh Mohammad's 3-day visit to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia not long ago and both sides expressed determination to strengthen and develop bilateral relations.

Moreover, Saudi Arabia has initiated a three-point programme to maintain stability in the Middle East: Gulf states should arm to defend themselves, all powers should keep out of the area, and the Palestine problem should be resolved.

Saudi Arabia has made clear its position towards Soviet meddling in the Gulf area and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Its first Vice-Foreign Minister Abdul Rahman Mansouri pointed out that the invasion was only a step in a long-term plan to control the Arabian Peninsula and its oil. Crown Prince Fahd Ibn Abdul

Aziz also noted that up to now Moscow's ambitions in this region have been clearly proved. At the extraordinary session of the Islamic foreign ministers' conference held in Pakistan earlier this year, Foreign Minister Prince Saud Ibn Faisal proposed a ten-point motion including the condemnation of the Soviet Union by name and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. It also put forward two suggestions: mobilization of all resources of the Islamic countries, the oil weapon included, to apply sanctions against Moscow and other nations supporting its invasion of Afghanistan, and strengthening the joint defence capabilities of the Islamic countries to deal with Soviet expansion.

Domestically, the royal family of Saudi Arabia puts removing social unrest high on the agenda. To this end, reforms are promised. According to a report by the French paper *le Figaro*, Crown Prince Fahd said that his country would issue a fundamental law of the government and set up a consultative committee to help the government. As it pushes vigorously ahead to improve its defence capability, the Saudi Government has contracted for sophisticated weapons from the United States and France.

Behind the Moves

These developments in Saudi Arabia have their background. With the worsening of the world energy crisis, the Soviet Union has been busy using its dual tactics of military encirclement and diplomatic cajolery in the Gulf area. Since its invasion of Afghanistan, it has stepped up its expansion into the hinterland of the Gulf area, enlarged

its naval and air bases at the tips of the Gulf and on both flanks of the Red Sea and sent in more military personnel. Soviet amphibious reconnaissance planes have been keeping close watch on the Gulf area and the Arabian Peninsula coast. Ground-to-ground missiles with nuclear warheads have been installed by Moscow near Saudi Arabia. In addition, the Soviet Union has been carrying out subversive activities in that Gulf country by fostering pro-Soviet forces, dispatching spies and smuggling armed agents. Saudi Arabia is reported to have intercepted ships trying to smuggle light weapons and explosives into the country and other Gulf states. Arms in a dump recently discovered in the desert near the Red Sea have been identified as being made in the Soviet Union and some other nations.

Along with its armed threat, Moscow has also gone smilingly to Saudi Arabia, offering to establish diplomatic relations, buy Saudi oil and open a bank in Jeddah.

The reason why Moscow has devoted so much efforts to the Gulf area is that it is the biggest supplier of energy to the industrial nations of the West. Saudi Arabia stands strategically at the hub of an important sea lane, with the Red Sea to the west and the Persian Gulf to the east. In Moscow's view, domination of the country would have Western Europe by the throat and the whole Gulf area in its pocket.

Under these circumstances, the new trends which have appeared in Saudi Arabian policies are bound to make themselves felt in the Gulf area, the Middle East and the world.

—An Guozhang

South Africa's Aggression Against Zambia Condemned

AT the U.N. Security Council meeting on April 11, Chen Chu, the Chinese Permanent Representative to the United Nations, strongly condemned South Africa for its armed invasion of Zambia, demanding that it cease the aggression and withdraw all its troops.

A resolution adopted that day by the Council demands that "South Africa withdraw forthwith all its military forces from the territory of the Republic of Zambia, cease all violations of Zambia's airspace, and, henceforth, scrupulously respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Zambia."

Since the beginning of this year, the South African racist authorities have been dispatching troops to harass and invade Zambia from the territory of Namibia they have illegally occupied; they have sent planes to intrude into Zambia's airspace. All this has caused

great losses in lives and property to Zambia.

Chen Chu pointed out in his speech at the Council that although Zimbabwe's independence had dealt a heavy blow at the South African racist forces, the South African authorities are not reconciled to their defeat. They are attempting to maintain their illegal occupation of Namibia and their colonial rule over it.

Chen Chu said, "The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Zambian Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity, support their just position of assisting the struggle of the people in southern Africa and support all the necessary measures the Zambian Government and people have taken to counter the armed aggression of the South African racist authorities."

Clashes in Chad

ARMED clashes broke out in N'Djamena, capital of Chad, on the morning of March 22. Despite several attempts to mediate a ceasefire agreement, the fighting continued, resulting in more than 1,000 deaths. Over one hundred thousand N'Djamena residents have fled to north Cameroon and all the diplomatic corps and foreign nationals except the French troops and a few

diplomatic personnel have evacuated the capital. The neutral Congolese troops, who were supervising the ceasefire according to a decision made at the summit conference of the Organization of African Unity last year, have returned to their country because they could not stop the clashes.

The conflict has a long history. The two warring factions, one headed by Minister of State for

National Defence Habre and the other by President of the Transitional Government Goukouni, were part of the National Liberation Front of Chad; they led a guerrilla war against the Tombalbaye government in the 1960s in the northern part of the country. They split in 1973 when Libyan troops occupied the disputed Aozou strip in north Chad. Habre opposed the invasion and led his supporters to the Biltine area in the east where they continued their resistance in the name of the Northern Armed Forces. Goukouni who supported the Libyan action became the leader of the National Liberation Front.

After peace negotiations failed in 1978 between President Malloum and Goukouni, a reconciliation accord was reached between Malloum and Habre. A fundamental charter was signed and a National United Government founded with Habre as the Prime Minister. But then in February 1979, a large-scale armed conflict erupted in the capital between President Malloum and Prime Minister Habre. Habre's Northern Armed Forces defeated the Chadian military police supporting Malloum but were soon threatened by the southward moving troops of the National Liberation Front under the leadership of Goukouni. The first National Reconciliation Conference of Chad was convened to deal with the crisis and it was decided that Malloum and Habre would both resign. In April last year, the four warring factions who had taken part in the conference founded the National Unity Transitional Government.

Problems continued, however. Last August another ceasefire was agreed upon at the 4th

National Reconciliation Conference on Chad held in Lagos, capital of Nigeria. Urged by the Organization of African Unity and some neighbouring countries, the conference was attended by 11 factions which signed an accord on national reconciliation and agreed to evacuate their troops from the capital and found a new government.

But the Lagos accord did not end the 14-year-old civil war. The actual negotiations leading to the establishment of the new government last November were quite difficult and failed to solve many of the problems. Government decisions had no binding force on any factions. According to the Lagos accord, a national unity army was to be established after troops of the various factions had been withdrawn from the capital and disbanded. But rather than withdrawing their forces as required, the warring factions continued to recruit soldiers clandestinely, augment their arms, seek external support and improve their position in the factional struggle.

Foreign publications have noted the role of outside forces in the Chad struggle. *Young Africa* candidly remarked that the Libyan-French conflict in Africa was tangibly exposed in Chad. Each has become involved under the pretext that the other was involved. Foreign news agencies reported that the Joint Action Front, composed of four factions in the government, had accused Habre of obtaining open French support. Meanwhile, the Northern Armed Forces accused the Front of being pro-Libyan.

The Organization of African Unity and leaders of some African countries have made great

Chinese Scientists Visit the Antarctic Pole

At the invitation of the Australian Government, Dong Zhaoqian, oceano-physicist of the Second Research Institute of Oceanography of the National Bureau of Oceanography, and Zhang Qingsong, geologist and geomorphologist of the Research Institute of Geography of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, paid a visit to the Australian Casey Station in the Antarctic Pole for more than 40 days starting January 11 this year.



Upper: Dong Zhaoqian (left), Zhang Qingsong (right) and Dr. Knowles Kerry, Secretary to Director of the Australian Antarctic Pole Division, examine a Casey rock. Lower: Dong Zhaoqian watches penguins.

efforts to peacefully resolve the Chad issue. But as more and more factions become involved in the conflict, it is difficult to

predict whether such efforts can check the external intervention and bring an end to the civil war.

— Dan Lin

The Cuban Refugee Problem

THE sudden influx of some 10,000 Cubans seeking political asylum at the Peruvian Embassy in Havana early this month has drawn attention to the fact that more and more people in Cuba have become disenchanted with the Castro regime and are dissatisfied with life in their homeland.

The Cuban exodus is not something out of the blue. In the past many Cubans have slipped out of the country by various means to start a new life in foreign lands. In recent months, quite a number of them have gone to the Peruvian and Venezuelan Embassies in Havana for political refuge.

Why the Dissatisfaction? In the past 20 years the Cuban economy has shown a very sluggish and lopsided growth. After Cuba's liberation in 1959, the Castro regime did not develop a diversified economy but concentrated on a single-crop economy of sugar cane. In 1959, sugar accounted for 74 per cent of Cuba's foreign exchange earnings but today it accounts for 85 per cent. Despite 20 years of concentrated effort by the Cuban Government to develop this single crop, cane-cutting today is still not mechanized. Consecutive years of bad harvests of sugar cane and tobacco, another chief source of the country's foreign exchange, have left their mark on the economy.

Last year, both sugar cane and tobacco were plagued by diseases and the 1980 target of 8.5 million tons of sugar cane had to be sliced back to 7.5 million tons. Last November, 48 per cent of Cuba's young

tobacco crop was hit by disease so that many factories were forced to cut down production of the famous Havana cigars for lack of tobacco and the authorities had to take the temporary measure of "reducing the work force."

These economic setbacks have made life for the people very difficult, and this has led to growing social disorder. With serious shortages of food and consumer products in daily use, the black market is booming and the crime rate soaring. Despite infusions of 9 million dollars daily by the Soviet Union, the Cuban economy shows no signs of picking up.

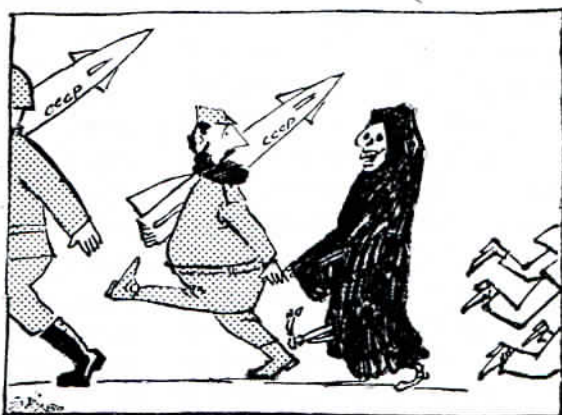
The people were reduced to a ration of two pounds of coffee, one-and-a-half ounces of cooking oil and a bar of soap a month. As if the people's livelihood were not difficult enough, the Cuban economy has to bear the burden of supplying its expeditionary forces — 36,000 troops in Angola and 12,000 troops in Ethiopia.

Bleak Prospects. Cuba relies on the Soviet Union for nearly all its oil and some 600,000 tons of wheat annually. Soviet financed projects provide 30 per cent of the country's electric power, 95 per cent of its steel, and all its steel plates. Today, when Cuba badly needs more Soviet aid, the Soviet Union

is busy with its invasion of Afghanistan and this is a source of worry for Cuba, for obviously the Soviet Union will have to divert more material and resources to its aggressive ventures, and this may affect its ability to live up to its other commitments including that of financing Cuba. However, as Cuba is fully dependent on Moscow, it cannot but faithfully carry out its orders. Cuba is committed to sending its youth as cannon-fodder to serve Soviet aggression and expansion in Africa.

No matter how the Castro regime tries to patch things up — such as the recent big government reshuffle and Castro's pleas and exhortations to the Cuban people to tighten their belts and continue to make more sacrifices for another 20 years — there seems little prospect of a better life for the people.

In fact, Castro's words are falling on deaf ears and the people are beginning to show their dissatisfaction in a number of ways. Not long ago, big slogans proclaiming, "We don't want Castro!" and "We want



Poverty: "Don't worry. I'll always be with you."

Cartoon by Fang Cheng

food!" appeared in Havana, Castro's seat of power for 20 years. This and the recent big influx of Cuban refugees to the Peruvian Embassy are definite signs that the people are sick and tired of life under the Castro regime.

— "Beijing Review" news analyst Yang Bianyi

G.D.R.'s Economic Dependence on Moscow Grows

THE ten-year-old comprehensive economic integration programme which the Soviet Union foisted on member nations of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.) has harmed the economy of the German Democratic Republic.

The policy calls for "co-ordination" of annual, five-year and long-term plans of the countries within the Soviet bloc. In the case of East Germany, it has signed over 100 agreements pledging co-operation with the Soviet Union in specialized fields of science and technology and production. "Co-ordination," which began mainly with foreign trade at the beginning of the 70s, has now been extended to encompass almost all economic activities, and, in science and technology, the exchange of patent rights and technological data has given way to joint research. Some 80 per cent of the G.D.R.'s scientific and technological development projects being carried out are within the framework of "co-operation" with the Soviet Union.

Heavier Economic Burden

This integration or "co-ordination" has made the East German economy increasingly dependent on the Soviet Union. Although East Germany pays less than world market prices for Soviet fuel and raw materials, Soviet monopoly of vital supplies all too often puts the country on the spot. For instance, as a result of Moscow's unilateral change of the C.M.E.A. principle of pricing in 1975, East Germany had to export in 1979 three times as much machinery as in 1970 for the same amount of Soviet petroleum. This made the country sustain trade deficits with the Soviet Union from year to year, which reached 7,700 million convertible marks in the aggregate in 1979, about 40 per cent of the total value of its exports to the Soviet Union for the same year. This, of course, has imposed heavy economic burdens on the G.D.R.

The balance in the exchange of machines and equipment between the two countries has tilted increasingly in favour of the Soviet Union. According to the relevant statistics released by Moscow, Soviet exports to East Germany went up 23 times between 1960 and 1977, while the reverse flow increased only 3.8 times. The average annual growth rate of the volume of bilateral trade from 1975 to 1978 was 8.8 per cent, compared with an average yearly increase of 14 per cent in the Soviet export of machines and equipment to the G.D.R.

The share of these goods in East Germany's total imports from the Soviet Union has grown from less than 5 per cent ten years ago to the present 30 per cent or more. Meanwhile,

such goods averaged 26 per cent of the total East German exports to the Soviet Union between 1960 and 1970, but dropped to 18 per cent in 1978.

The Soviet exports to East Germany, it must be noted, generally consume more fuel and are lower in technological standards than those available on the world market. They fall short of East German expectations.

Industrial Structure Affected

Furthermore, specialization in production, an important element in Moscow's policy of economic integration, also has had an adverse effect on the structure of East German industry. Of the total machines and equipment exported to the Soviet Union in 1975, 18.3 per cent were items designated within the C.M.E.A. as G.D.R. specialties. This shot up to 46 per cent in 1977.

The corresponding figures for Soviet specialties exported to the G.D.R. were 13.1 per cent in 1975 and 24 per cent in 1977.

Some economists already have expressed the fear that such specialization would handicap the innovative capacity of the East German machine-building industry to meet the market requirements. One authoritative economist wrote in the East German magazine *Economics* last year: "A country like the G.D.R. cannot afford to have the machine-building industry built on two different structures: one to meet the specialized needs of the C.M.E.A. and the other to pay for the raw materials, food, and certain technology and equipment" from other areas.

— Xin Ping

Fulfilment of 1979 National Economic Plan

ENTRUSTED by the State Council, Li Renjun, Vice-Minister in charge of the State Planning Commission, reported to the recent 14th Session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress on the implementation of the 1979 national economic plan. The highlights of his report follow:

Economic work in 1979 advanced in line with the Party Central Committee's policy of readjustment, restructure, consolidation and improvement. Major targets of the 1979 national economic plan were well or fairly well achieved.

China's industrial and agricultural output value in 1979 totalled 617,400 million yuan, an increase of 8.2 per cent over 1978. This fulfilled the plan by 101.5 per cent. The national income last year reached 337,000 million yuan, an increase of 7 per cent over the year before according to comparable prices.

The average wage for Chinese workers and staff increased from 644 yuan in 1978 to 704 yuan last year.

Agriculture. Total output value of agriculture and targets for grain and oil-bearing crops were all overfulfilled. The peasants' income increased by a wide margin. Last year, the state spent about 10,800 million yuan for raising the purchasing prices of farm and sideline products, and the margin of this price raising was the biggest since the founding of New China in 1949. This meant a major step in the readjustment of the national income and state financial distribution as well as in the readjustment of industry-agriculture relations.

The total output value of agriculture reached 158,300 million yuan, fulfilling the plan by 104.1 per cent and representing an increase of 7.3 per cent over the previous year. Preliminary statistics last year showed that every peasant got an average of 84 yuan from the collectives as against 74 yuan in 1978.

The figures are:

	Output	Increase Over 1978
Grain	324.9 million tons	15.1 million tons
Oil-bearing crops	6.43 million tons	1.22 million tons
Cotton	2,207,000 tons	40,000 tons
Pigs (state purchases)	130 million head	20 million head

Industry. Industrial production in 1979 was 8.5 per cent higher than the year before, exceeding the planned target of 8 per cent. Light industrial production increased by 9.6 per cent, and heavy industrial production 7.7 per cent. All production quotas for industrial goods for daily use were overfulfilled. New advances were made by heavy industry in better serving agriculture and light industry and in producing durable consumer goods needed by the society.

Quality of many goods was improved, varieties increased and consumption of fuel, power and raw material lowered. For example, steel output amounted to 34.48 million tons, 2.7 million tons more than 1978. But rolled steel registered an increase of 2.89 million tons, while production of those special types of rolled steel badly needed by the state increased by 17 per cent. Production of coal, oil and hydropower increased by 3 per cent as compared with 1978.

Capital Construction. The number of projects was curtailed but higher efficiency was achieved last year. The state stopped or slackened the pace of construction of some 300 big and medium-sized projects which were either not so badly needed or lacked the conditions to start building, so that more funds and material could be spared for the key or urgently needed projects. Last year 128 big and medium-sized projects and 340 individual projects were completed and put into operation. New housing completed in cities and towns and industrial and mining areas covered a total floor space of 62 million square metres. This figure is the highest in New China's history and marks an increase of 66 per cent over 1978.

Commerce. Last year witnessed a brisk market and prosperity in both purchasing and marketing.

	1979	Increase Over 1978
Total purchases of farm and sideline products	58,700 million yuan	4.5 per cent (excluding the increase from raising purchasing prices)
Total purchases of industrial goods	138,900 million yuan	10 per cent
Total retail sales	175,250 million yuan	14.7 per cent
Total volume of goods in warehouses by the end of the year		11.6 per cent

Foreign Trade. The total volume of exports reached 21,200 million yuan, an increase of 26 per cent; and the total volume of imports reached 24,300 million yuan, 30 per cent more than the previous year. Some 140 contracts on medium and small compensatory trade, and more than 2,000 contracts on processing materials provided by overseas customers, processing in accordance with their designs, and other processing jobs and on assembling were signed by the end of 1979.

The work of reforming the structure of economic management was started last year.

Work in science, education, culture, public health, sports and physical culture all made progress in 1979.

More than 8 million urban citizens were given jobs in either state-owned or collectively owned enterprises. Altogether the state spent around 6,000 million yuan on providing more jobs, raising the wages of 40 per cent of workers and staff, readjusting the wage scale in certain areas, and on bonuses.

Li Renjun said that the results mentioned above showed that much work had been done in readjusting the national economy last year. However, one could not expect to solve within one year all the problems left over by the ten-year tumult between 1966 and 1976. The work of readjustment had only gotten a good start. He cited the problems which still exist.

First of all, there is the very uneven development in agriculture. Although the light and textile industries have made some progress, they still lag far behind the needs of the people. The tasks are quite arduous in economizing on energy resources, organizing transport in a rational way, stepping up the technical renovation of railways and ports, and reorganizing in-

dustrial production as a whole. Besides, still too many projects in capital construction are going on.

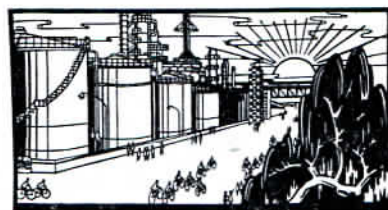
Although raising prices and handing out bonuses are correct and necessary, something like wilfully raising the prices or doing it in a concealed way occurred because we did not put all prices under strict control and did not do enough checking. Some places and units handed out too many bonuses and effective measures to salvage the situation was not taken promptly. We must devote more energy to checking prices and stop handing out bonuses wilfully.

There are still a section of people whose living standard has not been much improved. The peasants' life is still hard in areas struck by natural disasters or with retarded economic development for a long time. As for scientists, research workers, professors, teachers, doctors, nurses and those working in government offices, who get very little or no bonuses, their incomes have not increased much if at all. The real income of some is even lower than before. Since the country is still hard up financially, we can solve these problems only when production grows.

It is beyond the state's financial and material power to solve overnight all the problems left over for years, such as housing, public utilities, environmental protection and the faster development of education, cultural undertakings and public health work.

Li said that the country will adopt resolute and effective measures to solve these problems step by step.

Targets for 1980. As to China's 1980 economic plan, the Vice-Minister announced that the gross output value of industry and agriculture in 1980 is scheduled to increase by 5.5 per cent over the estimated total for 1979. The breakdown is 3.8 per cent increase for agriculture and 6 per cent increase for industry. He also reported on ten major measures to be adopted in the implementation of the 1980 plan.



Marxism Should Not Be Confused With Revisionism

by "Renmin Ribao" Special Commentator

THE rehabilitation of Comrade Liu Shaoqi, a great Marxist, by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is a demonstration of the mettle of the Chinese Communist Party which, adhering to the principle of materialism, has boldly and determinedly rectified its own mistake.

The lesson from the case of Liu Shaoqi, who suffered great wrongs, involves a series of major problems in the political life of the Party and state and merits a serious review from various aspects. One main point in this case was the wanton repudiation of Marxism as revisionism. This has produced a very strong adverse effect: there are to this day quite a number of people who consider that our Party has swung to the Right and gone revisionist because of what it has done in recent years—setting things to rights with a view to returning to the Marxist line and Marxist policies. Redressing the wrongs in the case of Liu Shaoqi will help clarify this matter, reverse the topsy-turvy situation in which right and wrong have been confounded and really draw a line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism.

Dismissing Marxism as Revisionism

Khrushchov's total repudiation of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Party in 1956 caused utter confusion in the international communist movement. Our Party and Comrade Mao Zedong thus brought up the issue of preventing and combating revisionism. The Cultural Revolution, as noted by Comrade Ye Jianying when he summed up the lessons therefrom, was launched with the aim of preventing and combating revisionism, but then no accurate, scientific definition was given to revisionism. Some influential polemics published before it had given an inaccurate representation of the characteristics and root cause of revisionism; in these articles the Marxist viewpoint that a proletarian party should devote itself to the development of the social productive forces after the seizure of power was mistaken for revisionism,

and on the eve of the Cultural Revolution, this erroneous concept, coupled with the wrong assessment of the situation in class struggle, had developed to an unrealistic estimation of the danger of revisionism within the Party. And bigger still was the folly to regard Comrade Liu Shaoqi who was a great Marxist as the exponent of revisionism inside the Party and the leading cadres at all levels who were carrying out the correct line of the Party Central Committee as the main target of attack. Exploiting this very error, Lin Biao and the gang of four pushed an anti-Marxist, ultra-Left line and wantonly criticized the so-called "Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line"; they implicated cadres at all levels throughout the Party and made the whole population suffer. This culminated in confounding Marxism with revisionism.

What after all was "Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary line" supposed to consist of? First, the so-called "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and the "theory of the unique importance of the productive forces," which were said to have formed the "theoretical basis" of the line. These mainly refer to the statements made by Comrade Liu Shaoqi after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and a passage in the 1956 Resolution of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on the Political Report of the Central Committee. In these statements Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "The landlord class has been eliminated and the bourgeoisie too has in the main been eliminated"; "the main class struggle at home has been basically concluded"; "in our country, the question of who is to win out, socialism or capitalism, is now solved"; "the most important task of the state from now on is to organize social life"; "the main task of the Party is to develop the productive forces as quickly as possible". . . . The resolution reads in part: "The major contradiction in our country is already that between the people's demand for the building of an advanced industrial country and the realities of a backward agricultural

country, between the people's need for rapid economic and cultural development and the inability of our present economy and culture to meet that need." "The chief task now facing the Party and people is to concentrate all efforts on resolving this contradiction and transforming China as quickly as possible from a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial one."

Whether viewed at that time or now, these important standpoints are correct and Marxist. Moreover, here it must be pointed out emphatically that they certainly did not just represent Liu Shaoqi's personal views. They were a new summation made by our Party in the light of changing conditions, in regard to the domestic class situation after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the major contradiction in society and the current focus of work of the Party; they were a scientific, Marxist conclusion conforming with reality and capable of standing the test of history. They were the very ideas which Comrade Mao Zedong expressed in 1957 in *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and his other talks given in Shandong, Shanghai and Nanjing in late March of the same year. In fact, they constituted the essence of the line of the Party's Eighth National Congress and were a theoretical elaboration of the line.

But Lin Biao and the gang of four at the initial stage of the Cultural Revolution actually vilified these essential points of the line of the Party's Eighth National Congress and dismissed them, together with the correct viewpoints both Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi had expressed at that time, as manifestations of the revisionist theories "of the dying out of class struggle" and "of the unique importance of the productive forces"; they went so far as to accuse our Party of being "a party for production." According to their idea, at all times and under all circumstances, "the central task of the Communist Party is just to carry out class struggle." As they saw it, talk about "organizing social life" and "developing the productive forces" was nothing but the same stuff hawked by the old-time revisionists. What they had in mind was to negate the line of the Party's Eighth National Congress and its theoretical basis and replace it with an anti-Marxist line of their own based on their theory of "all-round dictatorship" centring on perpetual class struggle.

Based on this "theory," the manifestation in economic construction of the so-called "counter-

revolutionary line" which they imputed to Liu Shaoqi was said to be his "opposition to giving prominence to proletarian politics" and his activities "to restore capitalism." The "grounds" for these accusations were that Liu Shaoqi was opposed to "managing the economy by administrative means" and advocated "managing the economy by economic means"; that he stood for "rural trade fairs" and for "each unit taking responsibility for its own profits and losses"; that he was also opposed to mass movements, advocated "relying on factory directors, engineers and technicians" and had worked out a complete set of regulations and rules designed to "impose throttling restrictions on the people." As is well known, all these things opposed or advocated by Liu Shaoqi were not his personal ideas and opinions; they represented the correct principles and methods for economic construction and management derived by our Party from practical experience.

But Lin Biao and the gang of four slanderously called these correct principles and methods "revisionist." Professing to criticize revisionism, they flatly denied the achievements in the work of economic readjustment made between 1962 and 1965, which, they alleged, only set in motion "a wind of dismounting" [i.e., discontinuing many construction projects] and "a restoration of capitalism." They discredited the series of policies and methods aimed at readjusting and developing industry and agriculture and criticized the cost accounting system and the principle "to each according to his work." This made a mess of things in the countryside as well as in industrial and commercial enterprises. It paralysed the national economy as a whole and brought it to the brink of collapse. In this matter, they passed off their "giving prominence to proletarian politics" as Marxism as if this alone would take care of our economic construction, as if this alone made it all right to disregard objective economic laws completely. This was tantamount to saying that only man's will counts in economic construction. It must be pointed out that when Marxists advocate running an economy by economic means and carrying out economic construction according to objective economic laws, they never rule out ideological and political work or the necessary administrative means. Our Party, including Liu Shaoqi, has never denied the need for and importance of ideological and political work. The point at issue is that such work in economic construction would become sheer empty talk and economic construction would get nowhere

if ideological and political work did not serve economic construction but was counterposed against objective economic laws.

Another major aspect of the attack directed by Lin Biao and the gang of four against Liu Shaoqi centred on the question of Party-building. They fully understood the significance to our Party of Liu Shaoqi's thinking on Party-building. They knew that in order to subvert the state, it was necessary first to subvert the Party, and in order to subvert the Party and usurp Party leadership, it was necessary to disarm the Party spiritually, destroy the guiding principles for political life inside the Party, wipe out the Party's democratic centralism and stifle the Party spirit of the Communists. It was common knowledge that Comrade Liu Shaoqi had summed up in a systematic way our experience in Party-building, that he had expounded a series of principles, policies and methods for both Party-building and for political life inside the Party, and it was he who had enriched the Party-building theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong. His thinking on Party-building, especially his famous works *How to Be a Good Communist*, *On the Party* and *On Inner-Party Struggle*, had long been a guide to Party members in tempering themselves and cultivating their Party spirit; this thinking had reared and educated a whole generation of Communists. This thinking on Party-building was a big obstacle to Lin Biao and the gang of four in their bid to subvert the Party and usurp Party leadership.

Replacement of the Party with their own factional setup demanded transforming the Party in the image of the so-called "revolutionary rebels," and this, as a matter of course, brought them into direct hostility to the Marxist theory on Party-building. They did their utmost to spread rumours and distortions, making a hullabaloo about what they termed "the sinister How" [referring to Liu Shaoqi's work *How to Be a Good Communist*] and the "six sinister theories."* Their true motive was undoubtedly to vilify and besmirch our great Party in an attempt to change its nature and turn it into a semi-fascist, semi-anarchist "rebel party" subservient to their own

* They alleged that Liu Shaoqi's "revisionist" thinking could be summed up as six theories, namely, "the theory of the dying out of class struggle," "the theory of peace in the Party," "the theory of joining the Party to become an official," "the theory of the backwardness of the masses," "the theory of being a yes-man" and "the theory of merging public with personal interests."

ends. Such was the essence of the criticism launched by Lin Biao and the gang of four against "Liu Shaoqi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line for Party-building."

Pushing an Ultra-Left Line

All this "criticism of revisionism" that had been going on for a decade boiled down to one thing, namely, the criticism of the so-called "Right opportunism," or "Right revisionism." Over quite a long period a certain concept had formed and persisted, holding that it was better to be "Left" than Right, and, moreover, creating the false impression that there was only Right revisionism and no such thing as "Left" revisionism. Thus, "continued revolution" meant fighting Rightism nonstop. All correct things, policies and lines based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought were thus dismissed as "Right revisionism" and criticized as such to cover up "Left" revisionism. This was the main feature of the ten-year "revolutionary mass criticism."

Our Party for a long time had maintained the tradition of persevering in the struggle between the two lines, opposing Rightism when Rightism emerged and opposing "Leftism" when "Leftism" appeared. Most cadres, too, could distinguish "Leftism" from Rightism and were well aware of the need to guard against "Leftism" in the struggle against Rightism and to guard against Rightism in the struggle against "Leftism." This was one main reason why the Party leadership was able to emerge victorious in situations where the struggle was complex. Later, things began to change bit by bit: attacks were directed only against Rightism, never against "Leftism"; the struggle against Rightism then became a regular feature in the revolution, so much so that while correct things were looked on as Rightist, even "Leftist" things were regarded as Rightist. This tendency developed all the more malignantly after Lin Biao and the gang of four came to power. They pointed an accusing finger at many correct things advocated by our Party and criticized them as being a "Right deviation," or "Right revisionism." This caused great ideological confusion and to this day it has not been clarified in the minds of a small section of people.

In the years of the Cultural Revolution, the ultra-Left trend of thought and the ultra-Left line reached the zenith; no one was allowed to oppose them and whenever there was opposition to "Leftism," it would be described as "a re-

surgeance of the Rightist deviation" or a "Rightist deviation to reverse correct verdicts."

In 1962, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, as Vice-Chairman of the Party and Chairman of the People's Republic, summed up in a realistic way the lessons to be drawn from our work and, to a limited extent, he opposed and rectified some "Leftist" mistakes. Speaking at the enlarged working conference of the Central Committee held in the same year, he pointed out in all seriousness that in 1958, in giving guidance to economic work, there existed the practice of issuing arbitrary and impractical directions, proneness to boasting and exaggerating and "a wind of communization"—a style of work characterized by people's failure to seek truth from facts, a style of work that ran counter to objective laws. He also referred to the struggle against the so-called Right opportunism launched in 1959 as inappropriate, as a "Leftist" mistake. He pointed out unequivocally: "There was a mistake at the Lushan Conference. Continued struggle against 'Leftism' was what it should have been at that time, not against Rightism; but, as it turned out, a struggle was directed against Rightism." "It was wrong to oppose Rightism at the Lushan Conference." "The Party centre should be held responsible for this," etc. In the same speech, Comrade Liu Shaoqi also mentioned mistakes made in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) and discussed the cause of the mistakes. "During the Second Five-Year Plan," he pointed out, "our socialist transformation had basically come to a successful end, the Party had shifted the focus of its work to socialist construction, and we had gained some experience in this endeavour. We should learn to walk by ourselves, adopting ways suited to Chinese conditions, in the light of China's own characteristics. So we laid down the general line for socialist construction and a set of principles known as the principles of walking on two legs. But at that time, on the one hand, we were still not very experienced and, on the other, quite a few leading comrades were not modest or prudent enough; they became self-complacent, acting contrary to the tradition of seeking truth from facts, the tradition of following the mass line; in so doing, they weakened, to varying degrees, the principle of democratic centralism in inner-Party life, in the life of the state and the life of the mass organizations. This led to serious mistakes in some aspects of our construction work during the Second Five-Year Plan." As history has testified, this speech by Liu Shaoqi stands out

as an important document which penetratingly analysed the experience and lessons gained from our socialist revolution and construction. And yet, this document was openly attacked as revisionist.

Now it is abundantly clear that prior to 1966 no Right revisionist danger had emerged within our Party at all. Quite the contrary, the main trend that had long been undermining our Party and the revolutionary cause was "Leftism." During the Cultural Revolution, the immediate and greatest danger inside the Party was a bunch of careerists represented by Lin Biao and the gang of four who conspired to usurp Party and state leadership. Taking advantage of the fact that our Party at that time still lacked a definite, scientific idea about preventing and combating revisionism, they revised, tampered with and opposed Marxism from an ultra-Left stance, seeking to overthrow genuine Marxism by branding it as revisionism or Right opportunism. The result was that their ultra-Left line prevailed in China for ten long years.

Drawing Lessons From History

Liu Shaoqi's wrongs have now been redressed, but the lessons remaining for us to draw from his case are profound. When a serious-minded political party of the proletariat is rectifying its mistakes and drawing lessons from history, it must not waver in the slightest in its principled stand—the stand of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. As long as we keep firm to this principled stand, analyse the mistakes and sum up our experience earnestly, our Party, by correctly handling the major historical problems, is sure to forge ahead with still greater unity.

In drawing lessons from Liu Shaoqi's case, care must be taken not to create an impression that only one person was in the wrong while everyone else was correct. This is not a historical materialist approach. The so-called "criticism" of Liu Shaoqi was, in the last analysis, an act of confounding Marxism with revisionism. But it does not follow that Liu Shaoqi had never made mistakes during his long years of work. There is no one on earth who does not make mistakes. Liu Shaoqi himself once wrote an essay entitled "Why People Make Mistakes," which deals with this matter theoretically. Like other outstanding leaders in our Party, Liu Shaoqi naturally also made mistakes of one kind or another. The important thing is: in case of a mistake, no matter who

Let No One Fall Behind

"Let no one fall behind!" Many teachers and students have adopted this motto to help those students having difficulties in school keep up. Teachers in many primary and middle schools have been active in following this motto in an effort to restore normal order in the schools, raise the quality of teaching and solve other problems left over from the ten chaotic Cultural Revolution years.

Teachers are not only responsible for teaching, but also for improving their students' ideas. Education in China is not aimed at a handful of top-notch students, but at the entire student body. Teachers are asked to help students having problems and not to assume a condescending or discriminatory attitude towards them. Heartening results have been achieved of late.

Here three teachers recount their experiences. — Ed.

Knowing Their Inner World

by Mao Beilei, a teacher at
No. 3 Central Primary School
of Hongkou District, Shanghai

ONE noon, Xiao Xiao came to me looking quite happy with a five yuan bill in her hand. "Teacher, Qiuping found this on the ground and asked me to give it to you."

I began to wonder: Why didn't Qiuping give me the money herself? Children ordinarily like to personally hand their teacher things they have found. I recalled how she had sat quietly

with her head down during the class meeting this morning when we were helping a boy who was in the habit of stealing. Sensing that something was wrong, I decided to have a talk with her.



I led this strong-willed girl to a quiet room and chatted with her. She became quite alert as soon as she noticed that I did not praise her. I asked her impression of the class meeting in the morning.

made it, the attitude taken should be a scientific one, one of seeking truth from facts, an attitude of neither magnifying it nor covering it up, still less calling white black and confusing right and wrong.

History is moving forward. To reverse a reversal of history does not in the least mean restoring the original situation in a stationary, passive way. It does not in the least mean simply going back to the days of the 17 years [between 1949 and 1966 prior to the Cultural Revolution]. The ten-year "criticism of revisionism" from the ultra-Left viewpoints was directed against correct things, the correct line and Marxism. Of course, we did have some "Leftist" mistakes in our work, but they were regarded as Rightist mistakes and

criticized as such. Our purpose in liquidating Lin Biao and the gang of four's "criticism of revisionism" is, in the last analysis, to make a distinction between Marxism and revisionism and, at the same time, differentiate "Leftism" from Rightism and sum up the experience gained. We must throw away things that have been proved to be wrong in practice and change those things of the past which no longer suit the new circumstances; we must also keep introducing new things to meet the needs of the developing situation. The purpose of summing up historical experience is not merely to have a correct understanding of the past but, what is more important, to know the present and look into the future with foresight.

(A slightly abridged translation
of an article published on April 3.)



Wen Liang, a model worker of Baotou Mining Machinery Plant, telling his experience before liberation.

Then I closely observed her expressions while I told her those who admit their mistakes are showing their willingness to change, that only when people confess can they really change. She then remorsefully told me her story.

One year earlier she had secretly slipped a five yuan note out of her father's pocket. But then she was so plagued by guilt that she did not dare spend it, nor confess her wrongdoing.

The class meeting to discuss the boy's pilfering problem had a deep effect on Qiuping. Her classmates tried to help the boy in a friendly way, analysing the dangers of stealing. The boy then promised to change, to study hard and to try to improve. After the meeting Qiuping decided to give the five yuan bill to me, but her courage failed her at the last moment and she tossed the note on the ground.

At her request I agreed to keep her secret. I felt Qiuping's problem was that she lacked an ideal, so I urged her to take up reciting poems. She soon became absorbed in poetry and showed interest in collective activities.

I often have heart-to-heart talks with my students, during which they share their worries and joys or tell me how they feel about me as a teacher. Once Xiao Cheng, a mischievous child with behaviour problems asked to talk privately with me. He held my hand and began questioning me in a matter-of-fact manner: "Teacher Mao, what caused your recent heart troubles?" I was taken by complete surprise. He then asked, "Wasn't it because I didn't study well and made you upset?"

I gave him a grateful look and heartily thanked him for his consideration. Then I told him how pleased I was that he had figured out some of his own problems and that he was starting to overcome them. It isn't terrible to get sick, I said, but it is bad to lack determination. I am determined to be a good teacher and I hope my students will try to study hard.

He took a paper from his pocket and fixed his large eyes on me. "Teacher," he earnestly said. "I have written down my new resolutions. Ten in all. I promise to stick to them. But I also hope you will promise me something. Please, from now on, don't get upset."

These sparks of hope in a problem student filled me with warmth. By the same token, I felt my responsibilities more strongly than ever before.

Fostering Self-Respect

by Yan Kuiwu, a teacher at No. 30 Middle School, Luoyang

SINCE becoming a classroom teacher in 1970, I have gained some valuable experience in helping students who are having difficulties in school. I have found that many problem children are unable to tell a right course of action from a wrong one; they wander around in the dark, unable to change their behaviour. They thirst for compassion and help, and yearn for a promising future. They usually manifest a contemptuous and mocking attitude towards good students, but in fact they secretly admire them.



Such children give the appearance of being arrogant and cynical, yet beneath this exterior they are deeply distressed and self-deprecating. They don't seem to care much about how badly they behave though they occasionally evince a desire to improve. If criticized, they are indignant, seethe with rage and sometimes seek revenge. When commended, they are overjoyed and want to show off. But then if they backslide, they



A young pioneer lending a hand to an armyman.

feel remorseful but refuse to mend their way. Correct guidance at this moment can help them regain their courage. The teacher's role should be to discover and encourage their good points so that they take pre-eminence over other less positive characteristics.

The example of Xiao Geng, the worst student in my class, is illustrative. Nicknamed "little bully," he was for ever getting into fights and liked to smoke, drink and steal. Trying to talk with him about his problems got me nowhere. He ran away every time. The first time I talked to him was on the playground. He expected me to reprimand him but instead I just asked him how he thought the class might be improved. We began to talk as equals. This was how I started to develop a relationship with him. Feeling my concern for him, he began to trust me. We started to have serious discussions and after a while he talked about his vices.

Xiao Geng's behaviour began to change. He wrote what he was really thinking in his compositions and volunteered to take responsibility for watering some castor-oil plants that we were raising in class. I immediately praised him in front of the entire class. But then a few days later, he started making trouble again. Once when I was teaching, he jabbed another child in the nose with his pen. I was highly irritated and admonished him on the spot. After that, his behaviour grew progressively worse.

I tried to figure out why he was backsliding. When we discussed it, he said, "Whenever I make a mistake, you chew me out in front of

everyone. If you don't have any confidence in me, why should I have any. I might as well give up."

I realized that students with behaviour problems have a great deal of self-respect. When they are trying to change, it is important to show greater concern for them. Their self-respect might be turned into a factor motivating them to change. But this can be achieved only through patience and care. Continual reprimands mixed with preaching works like a waterlogged sponge — the students merely lose their self-respect. And I have found that it is very difficult to get a child who has lost his self-respect to learn or to behave.

Thus, I gained some valuable experience from my work with Xiao Geng. After he expressed his feelings to me that day, I immediately apologized and encouraged him to keep trying. Nothing happened for a while. Then one morning he came into school by climbing over the wall. He remorsefully explained, "I was late today. When I got to the school door, I saw a teacher checking on who was late. I felt that if it was discovered I was late, it would look bad for the whole class, so I climbed over the wall."

Even though being late and climbing over the wall were equally wrong, his reason was clearly better than when he climbed over the wall to play hooky. I told him my feelings and he was quite moved, aware that I really understood his motivations. After that he still experienced periods of regression, but in the end he turned into a good student.

Finding a Suitable Method

by Pan Yuqin, teacher at the Yaer Alley Primary School in Beijing



ONE morning last May, I reprimanded one of my students, Liu Jun, in front of the other students for failing to hand in his Chinese homework, a common occurrence for him. He wept openly and then started to write some-

thing, but I did not pay much attention to him. That afternoon before class, I noticed a letter on his desk addressed to me. It said that he had not finished his homework the night before because he had been spanked by his parents for quarrelling with his elder sister. He went on to say, "I can't catch up with the rest of the class. I am too ashamed to come to school and I don't want to stay home either. From now on I'm going to roam around on my own without anyone to bother me."

I realized I had failed. Finding him extremely difficult to handle in what was otherwise an excellent class, I had been too inflexible in dealing with him and had antagonized him. Though Liu Jun excelled in swimming, taking first place in the city's swimming match, he had shown no interest in studying. Even worse, he had picked up some bad habits from outside the school. I had tried unsuccessfully to set him straight on a number of occasions; when gentle persuasion failed I adopted harsher measures and designated a special seat for him in front of the classroom. Let's see if you still dare to cause trouble? I said to myself. This method was too much for him and needless to say had no positive effect on his studies.

Liu Jun's refusal to come to class made me realize that I had been too impatient with him. It is important not to hurt the self-respect of students who are having trouble in class. Such an approach reinforces their fear that there is no hope for them to change.

I decided right then and there to always respect a child's dignity. Then I went to Liu



Pan Yuqin helping a student in his studies.

Jun's parents and together we searched the city for the boy. After we found him, I talked with him until 11 o'clock that night, encouraging him that the way to solve his problem was not through truancy but by coming back to school.

The next day when he walked into the classroom, his first question was about what his punishment would be. Instead he was greeted with a burst of applause from his fellow students whom I had already talked to about the problem. We held a welcome meeting for him, during which many students talked about his strong points—his aptitude for physical sports and manual labour—and others said that he had trouble with his studies because they had not given him enough help. They pledged that they would not let anyone fall behind in their studies and that they all should help one another. Liu Jun's face flushed with excitement and his eyes welled tears.

I asked the class not to mention his truancy. And I removed his special seat. Now he freely talks to me about what is on his mind. Once he revealed: "I really felt embarrassed sitting in that special seat, especially when some visitors from outside the city sat in on the class. I kept wishing I could return to my own seat, even if for just one minute. Now that you have taken that seat away, I feel I have to be very careful to obey class discipline." I regretted that I hadn't tried to understand him better earlier.

I now realize that using discriminatory or coercive measures to deal with difficult children is counter-productive. Of course, a hands-off policy won't do either. A teacher needs to carefully evaluate a student's character so as to develop suitable methods for helping him. Why, for instance, didn't Liu Jun study hard? He questioned, "What's the point of studying since I want to be a swimmer when I grow up?" I told him that it is important for everyone in their future work, including athletes, to obtain an education. He responded, "My mother and father, aunts and uncles living in my courtyard do their work well and they don't have much education." I talked about how the country needs educated people to achieve socialist modernization. And I described what the modernization would mean concretely in our lives. He was quite taken by my ideas and before long he began to study quite diligently. With the help of his fellow students, he quickly improved. Last autumn he was admitted into a middle school with fairly good marks.

● **Changes in Cities And Towns**

Significant changes have taken place in the distribution and main features of the cities and towns in the country as a result of its economic growth in the last 30 years.

The nation now has 216 cities of various sizes. In addition, there are 3,200 towns, including 2,000 county towns, each with a population of from 10,000 to 50,000, and an even greater number of small towns.

There used to be 150 cities in old China. City and town construction was quite backward. Sixty-five per cent of the urban population lived in the eastern coastal areas. The other 35 per cent lived in the much larger western inland areas.

The foreign imperialists and domestic bureaucrat-capitalists, having joined forces with the landlords, used the cities as their strongholds to drain away the riches of the country, leaving the vast countryside and the inland areas impoverished.

After liberation in 1949 the proportions of the urban population in the eastern and western parts of the country was changed to 55 to 45 per cent respectively.

In the old society, the small and medium-sized cities were almost invariably consumer cities with little industry and with less than 20 per cent of the residents employed. As a result of the development of urban industrial enterprises, 50 per cent of the city residents now have jobs.

China plans to build more medium-sized and small cities so as to accommodate the increasing numbers of people who will be released from farm work as more farm machinery is introduced into the countryside. The rise of the small cities and towns will provide employment for large numbers of people, thus preventing a rapid influx to the already crowded larger cities.

With the development of agriculture, the new rural towns that have emerged in all parts of China generally have agricultural machinery, cement and food processing industries. At the same time, theatres, clinics, shops, schools and other service trades have been set up.

In the remote areas, such as the Guoluo area on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, there used to be not a single town. The Tibetan herdsmen had to roam the grasslands with their herds in search of water and pasture. Today six towns, each with a population of over 1,000, have emerged in this area. In Wuxi County, east China, towns with industrial enterprises have been

founded in the seats of 35 people's communes. Now one-tenth of the county's rural population have moved to such towns.

● **China's 55th Minority Nationality**

Last June the State Council officially designated the Jinuo people as China's 55th minority nationality. With a population of 10,000, the Jinuo people live in 41 villages scattered over 3,000 square kilometres of Jinuo mountain areas, which belong to the Jinuoluoke People's Commune. The commune is located 50 kilometres east of Jinghong, the capital of Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture in China's southwestern Yunnan Province.

The Jinuos have their own spoken language and customs. The men are reputed to be good hunters, an occupation they pursue not only to procure food but also to evince their bravery. Their prey includes hornbills, wild elephants and other rare species which roam the primeval forests of the Jinuo Mountains.



A Jinuo doctor examining a peasant.

People in the News



Chen Jinti (left) and her assistant are filming in a coal mine.

Chen Jinti who is 46 and works as a cameraman for the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio has been chosen as an outstanding cultural worker.

She is one of the first women to shoot films for the People's Republic. In 1949, when she was 15, she joined the Beijing Film Studio as an apprentice cameraman. She did push-ups, running and dumbbell exercises every day to enable her to hold a 15-kg. cine-camera steady. Two years later she was working independently.

In the early post-liberation years, when transport was still very inadequate, she would carry most of her equipment herself as she moved about. She learnt to ride a horse in order to film in Inner Mongolia. Over the past 30 years she has filmed on location in nearly all parts of the country.

In recent years, Chen Jinti has filmed many movies such as "Spring," "Spring Thunder," "The Boston Symphony Orchestra in Beijing" and "For Children."

The women, who wear striped pixie hats and embroidered bands on their collarless jackets, pick tea with baskets on their backs along the mountain slopes. The Jinuos have a long history of tea cultivation. Now the Jinuo Mountains has become one of the six main areas for producing Puer tea.

Since liberation, the Jinuos have experienced tremendous social changes, moving from a late primitive society to a socialist society. At present the Jinuoluoke commune has built 400 hectares of paddyfields, five small reservoirs and two hydro-power stations. It also has 25 tractors and 4,000 cattle. Its grain output has increased annually, with the total grain output up from 1,000 tons in 1952 to 4,100 tons in 1978.

Now there are 40 primary schools and three junior middle schools. Stores, a post office

and a hotel have been built. The commune has a hospital and each brigade has its own co-operative medical station.

The Jinuo people have now their own college graduates, doctors and teachers. Bai Layao, a 49-year-old Jinuo who was a casual labourer before liberation, now is secretary of the Jinuoluoke commune Party committee and He Gui, a Jinuo cadre trained after liberation, is secretary of the Jinghong county Party committee.

● Our Good Neighbour — Wang Linhe

Wang Linhe, the well-known national model worker, has been appointed a deputy director of his factory. A leading member of the Shanghai Trade Union Council and a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Com-

munist Party, he retains all the qualities of a working man and lives plainly and works hard. He always treats people amiably and finds it a pleasure to help others. Thus he enjoys the love and esteem of his neighbours.

The article was written by Tao Shuxiang, Wang's neighbour since 1964 when Wang was an engineer. After Wang was given a more responsible position, said Tao, he took good care to be even more modest and to treat others as his equal. It made no difference to Wang whoever the person may be; Wang always met the other as an equal. He never put on airs.

Wang Linhe is in his fifties and his health is failing, but he still goes to work on his battered old bicycle.

Wang lives still in the same workers' living quarters as before. When people said to Wang Linhe that he would move into a new house now that he was a member of the Party Central Committee, he replied with a smile: "I'll live here as before."

As Wang Linhe's speciality is electricity, he is often helping neighbours to repair electrical household appliance. He never turns down a request for help, be it a broken radio set or TV set.

Wang earns enough to support his family of four very comfortably, but his apartment is as simply furnished as any worker's.

After Wang Linhe's promotion to his leading position, neighbours thought there would be a constant stream of cars coming and going. But, neighbours saw very few cars. They continued to see Wang Linhe carrying his old bike up and down the stairs, going to work, as usual.

CULTURAL HISTORY

50th Anniversary of the
Left-Wing Writers'
League

Meetings were held recently in Beijing and Shanghai to mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Left-Wing Writers' League.

The League was formed in Shanghai on March 2, 1930, followed by the setting up of other Left-wing groups in the fields of social sciences, drama, fine arts and music. This Left-wing cultural movement which covered the decade from 1927 to 1937 not only carried forward the new democratic culture started by the May 4th Movement of 1919, but also heralded the socialist culture of China.

The Left-Wing Writers' League was set up at an important turning-point in the revolution in China and elsewhere. At home, the Kuomintang reactionaries were intensifying their military campaigns against China's central Soviet areas.

Internationally, Soviet literature had become the accepted vanguard in world revolutionary literature and Left-wing literature was flourishing in Japan, the United States, Germany and other countries. Soon after its establishment, the Chinese Left-Wing Writers' League joined the International Revolutionary Writers' League.

The Left-Wing Writers' League and other Left-wing groups under the leadership of the Party openly held aloft the banner of the proletarian revolutionary literature, although the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution was extremely acute at that time.

After the failure of the great revolution in 1927, a considerable number of writers and artists who had taken part in the Northern Expedition and various armed uprisings went to Shanghai, where the Kuomintang was hunting and shooting down revolutionaries. There, they waged valiant struggles in the cultural and ideolog-

ical sphere in co-ordination with the Party's central tasks, such as counter-encirclement by the Red Army, agrarian revolution and the establishment of base areas. They published dozens of magazines and periodicals to spread progressive ideas. During that period, Lu Xun, standard-bearer of the Left-wing cultural movement, wrote many essays and short stories that glow with communist ideology. Other well-known writers such as Mao Dun and Guo Moruo, who both helped establish the League, also wrote many fine works. There was *Midnight* by Mao Dun and *Study of Chinese Ancient Society* by Guo Moruo. Works put out between 1927 and 1937 including literature, films, fine arts, music and poetry, made headway in the areas of subject matter, plot and characterization and reflected real life. The movement pushed contemporary Chinese literature and art to a new height.

With the Chinese Left-Wing Writers' League as the nucleus, the movement started the sys-



Lu Xun chatting with young woodcut artists at an exhibition in 1936.



A Beijing meeting marking the 50th anniversary of the Left-Wing Writers' League.

tematic introduction and publication of Marxist theory on literature and art, and trained a large number of propaganda and cultural workers for the Party. Many members of the league were hounded and arrested by Kuomintang reactionaries. Many gave up their lives for the liberation of the Chinese people.

During the Cultural Revolution, the gang of four distorted and vilified the Left-wing cultural movement of the 1930s and persecuted many writers, artists and scholars who had been active in those years. At the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists held towards the end of last year, the Left-Wing Writers' League was rehabilitated. Later, commemorative activities, including exhibitions of historical materials and relics of the movement, were held in Beijing and Shanghai. Poems and songs popular in those years were presented at a meeting held in Beijing. In addition, the newspapers carried reminiscences written by those who had taken part in the movement.

METEOROLOGY

Views on "New Ice Age"

Two Chinese meteorologists from the Chinese Meteorological Research Institute Zhang Jiacheng, deputy director of the weather laboratory, and Zhang Deer, a researcher, have published a paper disagreeing with the hypothesis that "irregular and unexpected" climatic changes during the last decade portend another ice age.

Written for the occasion of the World Meteorological Day (March 23), the paper is based on extensive research in Chinese meteorological records,

navigational diaries, local histories and other meteorological materials found in ancient literary works over the past 5,000 years.

The authors hold that "irregular and unexpected" changes of climates in the last several years in China are similar to those of ancient China. They state: A major characteristic of climatic changes in our history is that dry, damp, warm and cold spells lasting for differing periods have appeared one after another. For example, China experienced four rather warm and four cold spells in the course of the last 5,000 years. One of the warmest spells occurred during the Shang Dynasty (c. 1600 B.C.-1066 B.C.). At that time wild elephants could be found in the Huanghe River basin area. Bamboo groves were in full bloom in that area. The average temperature then was two degrees centigrade higher than it is now.

The two of the coldest spells in Chinese history fell during the Southern Song (1127-1279) and the late Ming (1368-1644)-early Qing (1644-1911) periods. The average temperature of these two cold periods was one degree lower than what it is now. On the basis of such studies, these two meteorologists have concluded that the temperature in this century is an intermediate one.

They also compare "irregular and unexpected" changes during the last several years with "bad" climatic records.

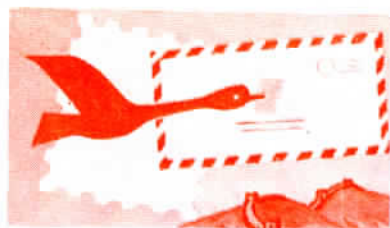
In the 13th century, the weather suddenly became very cold. The Taihu Lake in east China's Jiangsu Province for the first time froze over, permitting the passage of people and horse carts. Hangzhou in east China

was hit with heavy snowfalls in the late spring. Even the lychee trees in subtropical Fujian Province were ruined by cold weather.

Many rivers and lakes froze during the 17th century. Thick ice covered the Taihu and Dongting Lakes four times. The mandarin trees in Jiangxi Province were all destroyed. During the coldest ten years from 1660 to 1669, the average temperature in the lower reaches of the Changjiang River was 3.3 degrees centigrade in the winter, 1.1 degrees centigrade below that during the coldest decade in the current century. The 17th century was also a period with frequent dry spells and floods. Large-scale droughts occurred between 1636 to 1643 and a flood inundated vast areas of the Huanghe River basin in 1662.

One of the "irregular changes" of the last several years was the cold winter of 1975. In most parts of China the December temperature dropped to its lowest point since the founding of New China in 1949. Rubber trees, sugar cane and banana plants in south China were particularly hard hit. In 1972 and 1978 China experienced exceptionally prolonged and widespread droughts, causing bamboo plants to wither and paddyfields to dry up in some places. Drinking water for both people and livestock was in short supply. In 1972 the water level of the Haihe River in north China dropped to its lowest level in recorded history while the Huanghe River stopped flowing below Jinan for 20 days.

Therefore these two meteorologists have concluded that the "irregular and unexpected" changes of climates in the last decade have appeared several times in the last 500 years.



LETTERS FROM READERS

Policy Towards Nationalities

I read with great interest the article "Some Questions on Policy Towards Nationalities" by Zhou Enlai in your issue No. 9 which I had just received. It is a very useful document to the research group I am heading. What is of particular interest to me is the education you give to the minority nationalities. This article and Fei Xiaotong's recent visit are a great encouragement to us.

Monique Richard
Montreal, Canada

"Dumb-Bell" Strategy

Please excuse my ignorance, but I learnt for the first time about the term "dumb-bell" strategy from your issue No. 8 this year. In the past I only knew that the Hormuz Strait is vital to Japan whose oil resources are practically nil. Later I came to know that the Strait of Malacca is of still greater importance to Japan than the Hormuz Strait. Why should the Soviet Union focus its attention on an area so far away from its own territory? It'll be of help to us to keep this question in mind when we look at the vast changes in the present-day world. This will surely become a major question in the 1980s.

Jinji Kitamura
Takaoka, Japan

I appreciate your correct and critical analysis of the vicious and crafty Soviet aggression against Afghanistan. The term "dumb-bell" strategy is indeed a graphic description. I think it has incisively exposed Moscow's strategy aimed at controlling the "black gold" market.

Francisco Aguilar M.
Madrid, Spain

My Hope

I've enclosed a copy of a poster I conceived. The idea came as I read an article related to China's

population issue. Some of my American friends say I should keep my nose out of China's business. But, I so much want China to achieve the four modernizations and overcome the problems that deter this progress.

Wendell Lepic
Chicago, U.S.A.



The Young Generation

I was brought up in Taiwan. I know practically nothing about the mainland except for the little information I got from the class, the newspapers and my parents. Now I read your magazine sometimes, and I have come to know something about your life and society.

I think there has been great improvement in the contents of your articles, though there are still many political articles. The new "Special Feature" column has made your weekly more readable. I like the special feature on "Our Young Generation" (in issue No. 18, 1979) best because, in the first place, it is not a political report and, secondly, it helps me to make a comparison between the young people on the mainland and those in Taiwan or living abroad.

D.C.H.
Houston, U.S.A.

When I read the article "How Chinese Youth Visualize the 80s" in issue No. 3 of this year, I felt as if I were listening to a frank and candid exchange of opinion among the youths. In China where the socialist system has been established for so many years, there are also bourgeois influences which corrode the minds of the

young people. But Chinese youths know how to correctly handle the customs and habits which have emerged in the course of the development of history. I felt relieved after reading the article. Of course, it is possible for some of the young people to be affected by "Westernized" things. But the article has convinced me that the Chinese youths, with their national dignity and socialist morality, will certainly help bring forth healthy and new socialist habits which will be carried forward from generation to generation.

Koichi Masuko
Tokyo, Japan

Religious Belief

I was surprised to read Contreras' letter which you published in issue No. 6 this year. As a matter of fact, he hopes that the Chinese Government would ban religion. This will gravely endanger the democracy which has been strengthened since the smashing of the gang of four.

It is necessary to publicize atheism because religion is in certain aspects harmful to socialist construction. But to ban religion and persecute the believers would be a serious mistake. I think China's present policy on religion is very correct; it is necessary to respect the people's religious beliefs and at the same time provide the means for religious activities.

Eric Herfort
Saulxures-les-Nancy, France

I have read the article on religion in your magazine (issue No. 51 of 1979). It is the first article that I have read from any part of the socialist world, which shows a desire to accommodate Islam and is not polluted with hypocrisy.

It is not necessary to emphasize the differences between the ideology of Islam and theory of socialism. We should try to live in spite of the differences. It is obvious from your article that the Government of the People's Republic of China is trying their best to see that the Moslems can live their own way of life and practise their faith. I can assure you that the Moslem who understands Islam will bend backward to be loyal to the country where he lives and it should be known to everybody that to love his country is a part of the faith of a Moslem.

Yusuf Ali Eraj
Nairobi, Kenya

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